TWO YOUNG PEOPLE WHO MADE HISTORY IN ATHENS, GEORGIA
Charlayne Hunter (above) and Hamilton Holmes (below) enter the University

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JOHNSON-MANSFIELD TEAM SAVES FILIBUSTER

Defeat of liberals in Senate blamed on JFK 'hands off'

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

THE REIGN of King Filibuster over the Senate has been extended through the joint efforts of Lyndon Johnson, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen and the Senate Dixiecrats—and the acquiescence of John F. Kennedy. The defeat Jan. 11 of the bi-partisan effort to curb the filibuster by establishing majority rule in the Senate makes it extremely unlikely that effective civil rights legislation can be passed in the 87th Congress.

By a vote of 50 to 46 the Senate adopted a joint motion by Mansfield and Dirksen to avoid a vote by referring proposed changes in Senate Rule 22 to the Rules Committee, which Mansfield heads. This ended efforts to set limits on the filibuster at the beginning of the new Congress. Specifically put aside were Sen. Clinton Anderson's (D-N.M.) motion to amend Rule 22 so that 60 Senators (rather than 67 as now required) could stop a filibuster, and the amendment of Democratic Whip Hubert Humphrey (Minn.) and Republican Whip Thomas Kuchel (Calif.) to permit a simple majority of 51 Senators to close debate and require a vote.

DOWN THE MIDDLE: Both parties were closely divided on the vote. Counting the four Senators who did not vote, but were announced as "paired" on the issue, the Democrats divided 33 to 32 in favor of the Dixiecrat position. The Republicans split 19 to 16 in favor of the pro-filibuster forces. The party leader in each case was opposed by the party whip. Eight Democrats from non-Southern and non-border states supported the Dixiecrats. These included Sens. E. L. Bartlett of Alaska and Oren E. Long of Hawaii, and both the Senators from Wyoming. Republican Senators Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.), Alexander Wiley (Wisc.), Frank Carlson and Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas were among those voting on the filibuster side.

The defeat continues the power of a minority of 20 to 25 determined Senators to prevent passage of civil rights and other controversial measures. No filibuster has been broken since 1927, although it has been used successfully nine times since 1928 to kill civil rights legislation.

LAST CHANCE: As Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) observed, the Mansfield-Dirksen motion meant "killing" all prospects in this Congress for curbing the filibuster. Sen. Anderson said there would be "no possibility whatever" to change Rule 22 later in the year. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, representing more than 40 organizations, earlier had warned: "If a rules change is not obtained at the opening of this Congress, a meaningful rules change cannot be achieved in the next four and perhaps more years. . . . The only chance of obtaining majority rule in the Senate during the Kennedy Administration will occur in January, 1961."

Once the unchanged rules of the Sen-

(Continued on Page 10)

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Waiting

ARE THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS NEXT?

How segregation ended at University of Georgia

By Joanne Grant

TWO NEGROES ATTENDED classes peacefully at the University of Georgia in Athens Jan. 16 and thus ended a 175-year-old "white only" policy.

The desegregation victory was almost aborted by violent mob action and the calculated inaction of state officials the previous week, when the two students attended classes for one day and then were suspended. But Federal court action and the determination of a large section of the university faculty and student body finally brought integration to one of the four remaining Deep South states still holding to segregated schools. The victory could point the way for Atlanta which is under court order to desegregate its public schools next fall.

Until the successful entry of the two students, Charlayne Hunter, 18, and Hamilton Holmes, 19, the story paralleled Autherine Lucy's unsuccessful attempt in 1956 to become the first Negro enrolled at the University of Alabama. Miss Lucy was temporarily suspended by the university "in the interests of public safety" after a violent demonstration. She vowed she would return, but she was expelled and there has been no further attempt to desegregate Alabama schools.

HOW IT BEGAN: This was the sequence of events at the University of Georgia:

On Jan. 9 Miss Hunter and Holmes registered at the university while a crowd of about 1,500 jeered and chanted: "Two, four, six, eight; we don't want to integrate." Later that evening hundreds of students paraded through downtown Athens protesting the Negroes' admission. Final steps in registration were completed the next day in the face of threats by Gov. Ernest Vandiver that he

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THE FOREIGN POLICY CRISIS: LAOS, CUBA, CONGO

Kennedy faces his own issue: Low U.S. prestige

By Kumar Goshal

ON JANUARY 20, as President of the United States, John F. Kennedy took over the direction of an inflammable foreign policy inherited from the Eisenhower Administration. Thus he faced up to the hard facts of an issue which he had constantly stressed during his campaign: the low level to which U.S. prestige had fallen in the world. At the core of the crisis was the Washington-inspired situation in three key areas: Laos, Cuba, the Congo.

Laos

In Laos, the U.S. had intervened recklessly to overthrow for the third time a neutral coalition government-in-the-making. This was in clear violation of the 1954 Geneva conference which declared Laos a neutral state. Today an unpopular military strong man, Gen. Nosavan, is in office only by courtesy of American power. The constitutional Premier, Prince Phouma (he has not resigned), has taken asylum in neighboring Cambodia; and the nationalist Pathet Lao forces, whom the U.S. is determined to keep out of any coalition government, seem to have Nosavan's army on the run.

American fliers—employed by a Chiang Kai-shek airline but paid by the U.S. government while they are in Laos—and U.S. military instructors have not appreciably raised the morale of Nosavan's army. The use of U.S. training planes by Nosavan's forces for strafing and firing rockets at Pathet Lao troops have only created international concern over the possible enlargement of the war.

THE INVASION STORIES: Nosavan has accused China and North Vietnam of "invading" Laos. Washington **Post** correspondent Keyes Beech noted (Jan. 5) that there was no such evidence. Beech said:

"The impression seems to have got abroad that little Laos is being invaded from all sides by thousands of Commu-

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Ike and the people

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

President Eisenhower says: "I am sympathetic to the cause of the Cuban people." I would like to know where this sympathy was when 20,000 Cubans were murdered by Batista? Where is his sympathy for the people of the Dominican Republic? Where is his sympathy for the Spanish people who are suppressed under the fascist tyranny of Franco?

Student

Exacerbation

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Repeated "exercises" with military forces en masse is the most vicious aspect of the Cold War as now applied to Cuba. Of course, its purpose is to take useful labor from the fields and factories; to exacerbate the relations between us.

Veni Vidi

Holiday cheer

SEATTLE, WASH.

What better time than the New Year to drop a line to those outstanding weekly dispensers of good cheer—the staff of our NATIONAL GUARDIAN. May you continue to outdo yourself for your far-flung and appreciative band of shakers and movers in 1961.

The treatment of our exiled editor on his recent layover here is shameful, maddening and un-American in the extreme. I am sure that our fellow citizens would agree, had they an honest press which reported the significant news of our times.

I have fired off protests to the President and the Justice Dept. Exercising my democratic right and duty to tell off officious fools in high places somewhat abated my anger but didn't seem nearly as constructive as sending in the following five introductory NG subs (or to paraphrase the old saying: It is better to build the GUARDIAN than to curse dark minds).

Lyle Mercer

On letter-writing

CHICAGO, ILL.

In your Dec. 19 Mailbag, there appeared a commendable letter by Florence Luscomb urging readers to write President-elect Kennedy, then to multiply their peace-power by starting a chain letter. This is all to the good, but not enough.

Readers who wish to super-multiply their peace-power can do so inexpensively by writing frequent letters-to-the-editors of the large-circulation newspapers in their own and other cities.

From mid-1954 to mid-1960, newspapers published 250,000,000 copies of my pro-peace letters (about 3,000 were sent, 500 printed). You might do even better—if every time you write an official simultaneously you write a letter-to-the-editor about the same matter.

Albert Bofman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A Canadian Legion spokesman said today that University of Manitoba students are staging anti-nuclear test demonstrations on downtown streets because they have no sports outlet for their youthful energies. The spokesman, George Horne, told the city finance committee that the students—"who know nothing about atomic energy or its dangers"—are using the anti-test demonstrations as an outlet because of the lack of a major physical training program across Canada.

—The Winnipeg **Tribune**, Jan. 5, 1961

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. S., Winnipeg, Manitoba

Kehoe Trust Fund

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The American Communications Association and other friends of the late Joseph F. Kehoe, secretary-treasurer of the ACA until his death Dec. 4, 1960, have established a trust fund in his honor to assure the continued education of his daughters, Kathleen, 16, and Elena, 12.

During the great wave of industrial unionization in the thirties Kehoe was assigned by John L. Lewis, head of the CIO, to assist communications workers in forming their first successful labor organization. For 23 years he was an organizer and officer of ACA and a dedicated, eloquent and tireless supporter of militant and progressive causes in the U.S.

Trustees of the fund set up in his memory are Lala Kehoe, his widow; Joseph P. Selly, president of ACA, and Victor Rabinowitz, labor and civil liberties attorney.

Those wishing to help may send checks to The Joseph F. Kehoe Trust Fund, Room 607, 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y.

Charles L. Silberman

Faces on stamps

EL CAJON, CALIF.

I see the Post Office has issued a 4c stamp bearing the likeness of John Foster Dulles—"the greatest Secretary of State in any country at any time."

If Summerfield will now issue a companion stamp bearing the likeness of the Neanderthal man he can leave office the "greatest postmaster in any country at any time."

Robert Karger

American Indian policy

NEW YORK, N.Y.

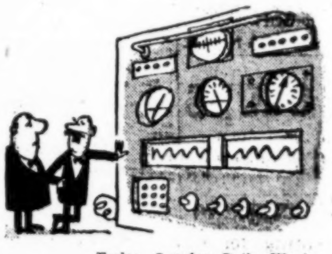
As you know, President-elect Kennedy has committed his administration to an Indian policy which agrees closely with the American Indian Point 4 Program this Association has proposed. He has appointed Congressman Stewart L. Udall as Secretary of the Interior, and, from our knowledge of his record and my personal acquaintance with him, I am sure that he wants to see that policy put into effect.

However, for the past two years we have seen a good Indian policy, stated by a good Secretary of the Interior, betrayed by a Commissioner of Indian Affairs who did not believe in it and would not let it work.

If the sound new Indian policy that has been announced is to succeed, it is essential that the next Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1) have a record that proves beyond question his commitment to that policy, and (2) have the strength to control the staff he will inherit with the Indian Bureau.

I hope that you will feel inclined to write to President-elect Kennedy and Mr. Udall and urge the importance of selecting a Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the basis of those criteria and no other. A strong manifestation of public interest at this time will be most beneficial.

Oliver La Farge, President, Assn. on American Indian Affairs



Eccles, London Daily Worker

"And it has the unique advantage of being completely non-union."

A Japanese seaman

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We were unloading frozen tuna from the 1,600-ton MS Banyo Maru last week and in the course of the work became acquainted with some of the Japanese crew. One of the seamen, a 22-year-old, expressed a wish to correspond with an American girl "to study, read and write English."

The Banyo Maru is expected back in Japan in March.

Maybe a GUARDIAN reader or two will drop the seaman a line so that he will have a letter waiting for him:

Yukio Shiraiwa
443-2 Tanakusa, Ogasa Town
Ogasa Dist., Shizuoka Pref.
Japan

Vasily V. Arnautoff

Dr. Joseph Prusslin

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

It is morning
And with it comes deep mourning hours;
A voice is stilled
No more to crack the air with strength or wit,
The sharpened mind is dimmed through all eternity.

What hands have done their work so well—
What pulse beat with current more intense?

Gentle soul—and yet how angry was the man
Whose love of man was the ruler of the heart
That willed to fight injustice where it lay.

Helen Prusslin

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

A SMALL TOWN NEWSPAPER in Oregon put this story on its first page last week: "Radio station KGAL at Lebanon requested listeners to phone the studio after newscaster Gordon Allen wanted to know the answer to this question: 'Do you favor the return of American troops from Korea, or should we leave them over there?' The 30-minute-long period saw 136 calls made to the station from all over western Oregon. Of the total, 135 stated vociferously their demand for return of troops."

Whenever people had a chance to express themselves, they were for peace. They flooded their newspapers with letters, swamped the switchboards of radio stations which asked their opinion, deluged Congressmen with protests at the draft of 18-year-olds, crowded churches to pray for peace. A survey of more than 55 colleges showed a collapse of student morale; one educator said: "There's a bitterness among students I wish we could overcome." The FBI said it was receiving 2,000 cases of draft evasion every month . . .

In Bridgeport, Conn., Rev. William H. Alderson, pastor of the First Methodist church, offered up a special prayer at Sunday services for President Truman. He pleaded that divine strength be granted the chief executive, but added: "Deliver us from the danger to our world of a short-tempered man with an atom bomb in his hands . . . Teach him how to control himself . . ."

—From the National Guardian, Jan. 24, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

The Island of Cork

THE CUBANS CALL their tempest-tossed country **La Isla de Corcho** (Island of Cork) because centuries of storm and strife have never succeeded in sinking it. As alarums of invasion again reach them from nests of intrigue in Florida, Guatemala and the Honduran Swan Island, the tourist guide smilingly reminds the visitor of Cuba's buoyancy as the INIT (Tourist Commission) **Trencito**—a little train of open cars pulled by a Ford tractor disguised as a locomotive—rounds the Malecon Drive along Havana's Gulf shore.

As our **Trencito** rolled along the Miramar section's Fifth Avenue—the "Avenue of Millionaires" with rows of half-million dollar homes—the guide called our attention to the fact that there were very few Cuban flags flying.

"We have very few patriots in this neighborhood," he said distinctly through his loudspeaker, both in English and Spanish for all the neighborhood to hear. Then, pointing out the Santa Rita Catholic church, he got a bit confidential. "This is a pro-Revolutionary church," he said, "the only air-conditioned church here."

THE TRENCITO RIDE was a restful afternoon after a week in Cuba during which hardly any day ended before the early morning hours. Our check-in on Dec. 24 at the Havana Libre Hotel was at about 6 a.m., after long waits due to the rush of visitors.

But the tour schedule was relentless. At midnight Christmas Eve we arrived en masse at a cooperative miles out of Havana for a traditional Christmas Eve dinner of roast pig, rice and black beans, salads, luscious fruits and toasts in beer, Jupina (pineapple pop) and nationalized Coca-Cola. (Now that the Cubans have taken over the Coca-Cola plant and make their own, the International Refugee Committee's Voice of Free Cuba, broadcasting from Swan Island, has warned the Cuban people that Cuban Coke contains a secret ingredient that turns everyone who drinks it Communist.)

Christmas night we joined hundreds of Cubans for dinner and dancing until 2 a.m. at Rio Cristal park; Monday morning the busses rolled us westward to Pinar del Rio to visit two coops and a gleaming new vacation park at Soroa. And that evening those who still had gumption went to the premiere of the Cuban film industry's first feature film, **Historias de la revolucion.**

THEY LET US LAZE until Tuesday lunch, then off for a 90-mile ride to Varadero Beach, visiting Havana East Housing project, several new beach projects and a huge and busy rayon plant on the way. Some of the people managed a swim at Varadero before we took off again for Santa Clara, some 200 miles on. At Cardenas, on the way, we visited the big Arechabala sugar refinery, distillery, candy and yeast manufactory; and at the tiny town of Santo Domingo, where the busses pulled up for an 8 p.m. comfort stop, the whole town turned out to welcome us, to ask whether we liked their revolution, and whether Kennedy would be an improvement over Eisenhower. Not a single soul said "Yankee go home."

At Santa Clara a great fiesta was going on as we traversed the public square at ten o'clock Wednesday evening, and the whole crowd flocked over as the busses stopped before the Santa Clara Libre (formerly the Gran Hotel, a bullet-scarred survivor of the Battle of Santa Clara). We were enveloped by easily a thousand people—militia men and women, teachers, students, farmers, shopkeepers, uniformed kids of the Rebel Youth movement. They gave us time to check in and eat, then hurried us into the fiesta for another 2 a.m. evening. A 20-year old engineering student with whom some of us talked, along with his 20-year old fiancee, a teacher, and her 19-year old sister, a nurse in training, explained that the fiesta itself had a socio-political point in that two years earlier, before the Revolution, the Santa Clara public square had been divided between whites and Negroes. Now it was joyously integrated, as is all life in Cuba today.

AT PRESS TIME, after the foregoing was in type, the news came that the U.S. government would curb travel to Cuba except for a trusted few. At the time of our visit there were some 600 North American visitors in Cuba. After a week and not so much as a nod from the Embassy, a deputation asked for an audience: they wanted the invasion scare explained. They were seen by a visa officer, name of Kerr, who said two mouthfuls: (1) Even if 90% of the people support a regime the U.S. regards as Communist, we will oppose it; (2) we will join with the Devil himself to fight Communism.

The travel ban is obviously to deny tourist dollars to Cuba and to prevent open-minded U.S. citizens from seeing Cuba for themselves. Fortunately for us, we have Cedric Belfrage there, and will continue to print the truth about Cuba.

—John T. McManus

THE TWISTING PATH TO PEACE

What the referendum means for France and for Algeria

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

DE GAULLE'S referendum victory on Algerian policy, hardly less sweeping than the vote on the constitution in 1958 (75.25% Yes, 24.75% No, as against 79.25% and 20.75%, respectively, in 1958), came as a shock to some on the Left. But the results must be judged against these three factors:

- Abstentions were considerably higher than in the 1958 referendum (23.5% as against 15.1%), higher than in all but one election since the end of the war. (The Yes votes were only 55.9% of the total number of registered voters.) Abstention was not advocated by any party or group in France and can only indicate the extent of the voters' growing indifference or disgust.
- The left-wing accounted for most of the No votes cast: In Paris' "red belt" it went up to 35%, and in 12 suburban Paris Communist municipalities, the Nos exceeded 50%. The Communist Party, the Socialist left-wing splinter group and the left-wing Radicals had advocated No vote. The number of extreme right-wing and pro-fascist No voters was negligible; they are no doubt the great losers of the vote in France.
- Because the de Gaulle legend is hard to kill, the Yes vote was high and in many cases was cast against the recommendation of the voter's own party. Many of the 75% who voted Yes undoubtedly thought they were voting for peace in Algeria, but what kind of peace, with whom, and under what conditions they did not know. But essentially, most of the Yes votes were in response to still-popular Gaullist myths: No one but de Gaulle can make peace in Algeria; No one but de Gaulle can handle the Army; de Gaulle knows best.

Many were also influenced by de Gaulle's referendum-eve threat to retire if the Yes vote was not broad enough; he had pictured the chaos that would follow his resignation.

The Yes vote was essentially a vote for de Gaulle. In his last radio speech before the election, the General had openly urged the people simply to vote for him. He could not more bluntly have characterized the vote for what it was: a vote not for an idea or a program but for a man; not a referendum but a vote of confidence.

CONFUSING QUESTION: Actually, it was not possible to vote Yes or No to a program; the incredible confusion in which the election campaign took place was the direct result of the referendum question itself:

"Do you approve the motion submitted to the French people by the President of the Republic concerning self-determination for the Algerian people, and the organization of public administration in Algeria before self-determination?"

This was actually two questions: (1) Are you for self-determination at some distant time in the future, and (2) Are you for a Paris-imposed local administration in Algeria today?

The motion specified that self-determination would be considered only when "security conditions in Algeria permit the full exercise of public liberties," which in effect means several years at the least. The provision of Paris-decreed and conditioned organs of government in Algeria now and for years to come is the exact opposite of self-determination and would bias any eventual referendum on self-determination.

To many the two questions were contradictory and could not be answered by a Yes or No. A group of Paris left-wingers likened the referendum question to a boss asking an employe: "Are you satisfied with your salary, and do you want a raise?"

POLITICAL HYPOCRISY: The ambiguity of the whole referendum—why ask peoples' opinion on a question, meaningless to many, when you have absolute powers in the first place?—opened the door to every political hypocrisy, and to the kind of confusion favored from the start by the Fifth Republic.

"Voting Yes means voting for peace," Guy Mollet's Socialist Party decided, coming once again to the rescue of de Gaulle. But a 35% minority at its extraordinary party congress called for a No vote or abstention.

"Voting Yes means voting for war," was the view of 75% of the right-wing Independents, who favor a closely "integrated" Algeria.

Of the six parties eligible for official campaigning, with official poster space, air and TV time at their disposal, only one, the CP, recommended a No vote. (Two other groups, Soustelle's splinter ultra "Regroupement National" and the left-wing SP splinter group, both partisans of the No vote, were refused official campaigning facilities.) Only two parties, the CP and the Gaullist UNR, stated their respective No and Yes positions unequivocally. Two others, the pro-Catholic MRP and Guy Mollet's SP, urged a Yes vote, but on condition that it meant no approval of the rest of de Gaulle's policies. The two remaining parties, the anti-Mendésist Radicals and the Independents, both split at their party congresses with a decisive No majority and in the end decided to make no recommendation but leave voters and regional groups to their own choice.

ALGERIA RESULTS: If the referendum results in France need explanations and interpretations, they are quite unequivocal in Algeria.

There the National Liberation Front (FLN) had called for a boycott, and the figures speak for themselves. In the small Arab villages where the Army could easily haul in the voters on military trucks, the participation averaged 66%. In the big cities where it was difficult and dangerous to force the vote, the abstention rate was the highest ever: 50% in Algiers, (an estimated 80% in the Casbah), 43% in Oran, 56% in Bone, 67% in Sidi-Bel Abbes. (In the actual vote, the No won out in the departments of Algiers and Oran.)

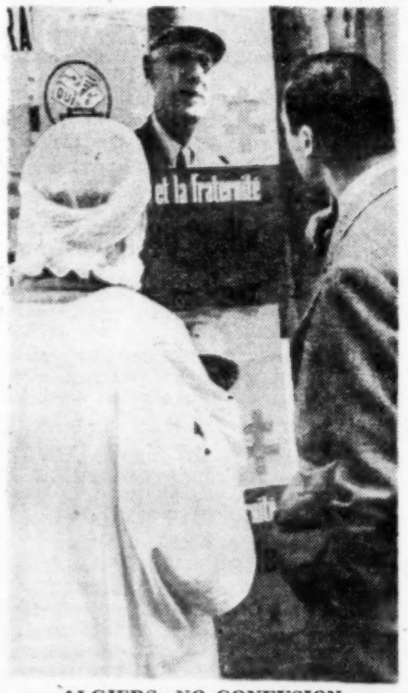
The success of the FLN abstention slogan, against the handicap of the Army presence all over Algeria, is hard to deny. As for the Europeans, their first reactions are bitterness and resignation.

THE FUTURE: On all sides this question is being asked: What will happen now?

The feeling of commentators in most Western countries is this: "Now that de Gaulle has his majority, now that he feels he has the nation behind him on his Algerian politics, he can, will, must reopen negotiations with the FLN and make peace soon." As a matter of fact, no such certainty exists.

His referendum success has given him no powers he did not have before. There is little chance it has changed his basic approach to the Algerian question. If peace is to come, chances are there will be nothing prompt or direct about it, but that it will come slowly along a twisting path.

PARIS: THE MOVIES TOOK SECOND PLACE FOR A TIME
An election poster is pasted over a billboard ad for a film



ALGIERS: NO CONFUSION
Moslems abstained, Europeans were bitter

THE LIBERAL PARTY GOES LIBERAL

Canada: Foreign policy shift away from U. S. ties

Special to the Guardian

OTTAWA

CANADA'S SECOND most powerful political party underwent a foreign policy housecleaning at its national policy-making convention in the second week of January. Lester Pearson's Liberal Party went liberal: It advocated nuclear neutrality in the cold war; favored Canada's effective withdrawal from the North American Air Defense Command (NORAD), and, in a back-handed way, advocated admission of the Chinese People's Republic into the UN.

The Liberals thus departed from their traditional foreign-policy alignment with the U.S. Resolutions passed at the national "rally" will form the basis for a Liberal platform in a federal election either later this year or in 1962. The Liberals are riding a wave of popularity which poll takers say has them out in front of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's Progressive Conservatives.

In one respect the new policies may represent an attempt to steal thunder from a new party to be formed this year by the social-democratic Cooperative Commonwealth Federation and the Canadian Labor Congress. Ultimate effect of the Liberal action on the new party may be to encourage it to adopt a strong left-wing stand on international affairs.

CHINA SHIFT: The China resolution said "a new Liberal government would no longer oppose the consideration of the question at the UN." A more strongly-worded China resolution was smothered by the Liberal executive at the rally. Earlier in the convention a foreign policy sub-committee voted 52 to 9 in favor of this resolution:

"Whereas the continued exclusion of the People's Republic of China as a member of the UN is a detriment to world peace now and in the future, therefore be it resolved that Canada take the initiative among the West community of nations to seat the People's Republic of China in the UN."

Officials responsible for bringing the resolution back to the plenary session re-issued it in the innocuous form, in which it was finally adopted.

WASHINGTON UPSET: The NORAD resolution would have Canada limit its role in North American "defense" to detection and warning through radar systems. A Liberal government would withdraw from NORAD "insofar as its present interceptor role is concerned. We would stop using our defense resources on interceptor fighter squadrons or on Bomarc missiles."

Earlier the Liberals had declared that Canada under a Liberal government would renounce nuclear weapons.

U.S. authorities were reported perturbed at the Liberals' NORAD decision. "We need Canada in this effort and they need us," State Dept. spokesman Lincoln White said. The Canadian Press reported a U.S. source: "In all truth, there has been considerable thought as to what we would do, assuming Canada got out of NORAD. We would have to retreat to a 'fortress America' concept of defense."

OTHER VOICES: The Liberals are not alone in urging new NORAD policies. Hazen Argue, leader of the CCF, said NORAD is a waste of time because there is no defense against hydrogen bombs. The CCF also favors Canada's withdrawal from NATO. Even Conservative External Affairs Minister Howard Green has been reported having second thoughts on NATO, NORAD and Canada's close military tie-up with the U.S.

Sunday Pictorial, London
"Do you have the non-nuclear club tie?"

SOCIAL SECURITY PLAN FAVORED

AMA gets setback at White House Conference on Aging

By Robert E. Light

ORGANIZED MEDICINE'S high-powered campaign to prevent medical care for the aged financed through the Social Security system was dealt an unexpected blow at the White House Conference on Aging held in Washington from Jan. 9 to 12. Despite extensive efforts by the American Medical Assn. to pack the conference in favor of private insurance plans, delegates in a financing panel voted for a Social Security plan.

Under pre-set rules, the issue never came to a vote in a plenary session of the 2,700 delegates, but from the discussions it was clear that a majority favored a Federal insurance plan. The AMA's defeat reflected (1) a view growing among conservatives that it is foolhardy to oppose extension of Social Security and (2) the wide popular support for the plan among all age groups.

BEATING THE BUSHES: The conference was authorized by Congress in 1958. In the two years it took to complete arrangements, the AMA maneuvered to control the selection of delegates, who were chosen by the Governor in each state. At the AMA convention last month, F. J. L. Blasingame, AMA executive vice president, reported:

"When the allocation of delegates was made by those in charge of the White House Conference on Aging, the [AMA] field staff immediately took this information to the states, in an effort to get as many physicians and qualified lay leaders as possible designated by the Governors of the states to be delegates . . . At the same time the [AMA] field service division worked with the states in getting physician representation on the Governors' committees on aging, which have the responsibility of developing statements to be presented to the White House conference.

"The states were also encouraged to work with the insurance industry, chambers of commerce, and other groups, to likewise obtain representative delegates . . . This met with an excellent degree of success, in spite of the fact that social and welfare workers immediately and spontaneously requested that they be designated among the state delegates."

At the opening of the conference, Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.), and AFL-CIO president George Meany accused the AMA of packing the meeting. AMA officials denied the charge and said that only 10% of the delegates were physicians. Dr. J. Lafe Ludwig said. "If the conference fails, the responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of George Meany."

EARLY BLOWS: The AMA got two surprise slaps at the opening session which forecast its defeat. Marion B. Folsom, former Health, Education and Welfare Secy. in the Eisenhower Administration, said that Social Security financing of medical care is a "logical plan" and there is no basis for describing it as "socialized medicine." Arthur Larson, former Under Secy. of Labor and U.S. Information Agency Director, said that he had "believed for years" that it is the proper function of Social Security to provide hospital and medical benefits for the aged.

Grant, San Gabriel Valley (Calif.) Daily Tribune
"He'll be the death of me yet."

The AMA never recovered from these blows. The conference's Income Maintenance Section voted 170 to 99 in favor of financing medical care through the Social Security system. The Health and Medical Care Section, which was led by AMA President-elect Dr. Leonard W. Larson, after a hot debate, voted 165 to 122 that "health care under the Social Security system is unnecessary and undesirable." But Robert W. Kean, chairman of the Conference's Natl. Advisory Committee, ruled that the Section had "no right to pass any recommendation on financing such care" and the sentence was eliminated from its report.

STRONG INFLUENCE: One of the delegates, William B. Tollen, Pennsylvania Commissioner of Public Assistance, explained the turn against the AMA. "Delegates didn't talk about anything else at breakfast except the Folsom and Larson speeches," he said. "For once in debating this issue, I could discuss statements made by persons other than labor spokesmen. I could say Folsom, Larson, Business Week and Life can't all be wrong."

Tollen added: "I think many of the doctors have been won over by the arguments made by Folsom and Larson. Some abstained from voting, but at least they didn't all vote against the proposal."

The Social Security approach got another boost when a "task force" assigned by President-elect Kennedy to study the matter reported on Jan. 10. The group, headed by Wilbur J. Cohen of the U. of Michigan, one of the designers of the Social Security system in 1935, advocated a $1-billion-a-year program, financed by a rise in Social Security payroll taxes.

It suggested: (1) hospitalization, hospital diagnostic services and treatment at home or at nursing homes for men from the age of 65 and women from 62; (2) a $70,000,000 to $90,000,000 program to increase the supply of doctors through support to medical education; and (3) a $115,000,000 program for building and renovating hospitals, and expanded aid to dependent children.

WRITE YOUR CONGRESSMEN: But the report recommended against using funds to pay doctors' bills, either for surgery or other treatment, as proposed in the Forand and McNamara bills. Abraham A. Ribicoff, incoming Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare, said he preferred to call it "health care" rather than "medical care."

The issue is likely to come before Congress soon. But social welfare bills traditionally are sidetracked until election years, unless an aroused public needles its representatives.

The Georgia U. story

(Continued from Page 1)

would close the university under a 1956 law providing for a cut-off of public funds to integrated institutions.

Vandiver said he had no alternative and pleaded for a stay of the integration order to give the legislature time to change the school closing law. His request was granted Jan. 10 by Federal Judge William A. Bottle, but the stay was reversed the same day by the Circuit Court of Appeals. Vandiver appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, but he lost in a unanimous decision.

The same day a petition signed by 2,776 of the university's 7,400 students was sent to the legislature urging that the university be kept open. Students said that the names were obtained in less than 12 hours.

THE FIRST DAY: On their first day of classes, Jan. 11, Miss Hunter and Holmes met with little hostility. Miss Hunter was escorted by 15 girls from her dormitory and Holmes by the men's dean. When he entered his first class Holmes was greeted with a handshake by the professor, but no students sat in the front row with him.

Though the day was quiet, preparations for the violent night ahead were in progress. The New York **Times** reported Jan. 15 that word passed throughout the university: "Be at Myers at 10 o'clock." Myers Hall is the dormitory where Miss Hunter lived and the scene that night of a violent demonstration.

The **Times** said of those who massed in front of the dormitory:

"Like many other participants in the South's desegregation disturbances they were victims of curiosity, ignorance, mob psychology and the influence of unscrupulous politicians."

THE VIOLENCE: The mob—500 students and townspeople—converged at 10 p.m. In one hour of violence—bricks were hurled, firecrackers exploded and university officials who tried to restore order beaten—desegregation was halted at the University of Georgia.

The New York **Post** said Jan. 12: "Raging out of control and with no police attempt to stop it, the mob threw rocks at passing automobiles in nearby Lumpkin St. and assaulted several university officials . . . It wasn't until one cop was punched in the face, knocked down and kicked, that other officers went to work with any vigor." The crowd was finally dispersed by tear gas and water hoses.

Several Klansmen were identified in the crowd, including the Georgia Grand Dragon, and nine men from Atlanta were arrested. Many adults were on campus that evening to attend a basketball game. Some came ready for trouble—six pistols were found in one man's car.

Police claimed that "outside hoodlums" sparked the riot, but responsibility for its continuance clearly rested with state law enforcement agencies. Repeated calls to nearby State Highway Patrol barracks during the violence were futile. The patrol chief insisted that he could not move without orders from the Governor.

State troopers did not arrive until two

hours after the riot. Their main effort was to escort Miss Hunter and Holmes to their homes in Atlanta after university officials suspended the students.

JUST AN EDUCATION: Though visibly shaken when they reached their homes in the early morning, both Miss Hunter and Holmes said they would return to the university if the suspensions were revoked. Both had left other schools to enter the University of Georgia—Miss Hunter had been attending Wayne U. in Detroit and Holmes, Morehouse College in Atlanta—and both seemed determined to complete their education. Miss Hunter said that classmates at Wayne had been sorry to see her go, but they "knew why I was leaving. I don't think any of them wanted to detain me, knowing I wanted to be here."

Holmes, described by reporters as quietly angry, was asked if he wanted to stay at the university. He said: "Yes, I do. We weren't especially interested in breaking down barriers or making history. I'm just seeking an education, that's all."

THE AFTERMATH: The day after the riot more than half of the university's 600 faculty members in a petition to university officials condemned the violence and called for reinstatement of the two Negro students. Petitions protesting the violence were circulated by 50 student leaders.

The Department of Justice instituted an investigation, a sub-committee of the Georgia legislature launched its own investigation, and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation put 28 agents to work.

Dean of Students Joseph A. Williams announced that several students who had taken part in the riot had been suspended and that action would be taken against students involved in actions that might lead to violence. In the two days after the riot, 282 students signed a resolution recommending expulsion for students taking part in mob demonstrations. Another resolution signed by 65 students, who said they represented several hundred others, urged that the Negro students be treated with dignity and courtesy on their return to classes.

HEALTHY PRECEDENT? Vandiver's actions in the crisis reflect the tugs of opposing forces in a changing South. He was elected on a segregationist platform in 1958 and vowed that no school would be desegregated while he held office. In his inaugural address he said: "The people of Georgia and their new Governor say to the U.S. Supreme Court that we will fight this tyranny at every crossroads; we will fight it wherever it raises its ugly head, in these very streets, in every city, in every town and in every hamlet."

His office encouraged the mob at the university. Peter Zack Geer, Vandiver's executive secy., said: "The students at the university have demonstrated that Georgia youth are possessed with the character and courage not to submit to dictatorship and tyranny."

CONSTANCE MOTLEY
NAACP attorney who helped in the legal fight to reinstate the two students

But faced with the enrollment of the Negro students, Vandiver backed down. He seemed to be aware of substantial Georgia opinion favoring open schools when he promised to change the school closing law.

If Miss Hunter and Holmes can continue at the university without incident, a healthy precedent might be set for the desegregation of Atlanta schools next fall. Much will depend on the subsequent actions of state officials.

James Aronson will speak in Milwaukee Mon., Jan. 23

A LAST MINUTE change in plans has enabled James Aronson, editor of the GUARDIAN, to schedule a talk in Milwaukee, Mon. eve., Jan. 23, at 8 p.m. Theme of his talk will be "The American Press and the World Crisis." The meeting will be held at the Wisconsin Hotel, 3rd St. near Wisconsin Ave. Admission is 50c.

CASTRO AND GUEVARA SET THE NEW YEAR STAGE

Cuba's 1961 goals: End illiteracy and the Fifth column

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

THE NEW YEAR period here has been so endlessly eventful and exciting as to reduce to near-despair a correspondent with meager space allowance, uncertain mail facilities, and awareness of the vast conspiracy of lies about Cuba.

In the face of bombings and arson in department stores, the incredible carefree outpouring of Havana's people for holiday shopping . . . the astonishing abundance of goods from around the world at low prices: this is a story in itself which the crisis has already pushed to the back of the stove.

The GUARDIAN group who left here with stars in their eyes may have told about the New Year's Eve supper party, when 1,000 foreign guests and 10,000

A CUBAN "MILICIANA"
She's 20 and a law student

teachers hailed the "Year of Education" with fireworks, peace doves, choirs, dance troupes—and Castro. And about the eight-hour-long parade Jan. 2 of young militiamen and women—"the pride of the nation" as Castro said—workers sacrificing months of rest-time learning to use the tanks, anti-tank batteries, anti-aircraft guns, mortars and bazookas which they displayed without a trace of militaristic strut, so obviously not wanting to have to use them yet so confident and competent.

YEAR OF EDUCATION: Because Cuba's leaders speak for and teach the people with such eloquent honesty, most important now is to indicate what Castro said on those two occasions, and what Che Guevara, guerrilla-warfare wizard turned wizard of unorthodox finance, had to report on his $250,000,000 shopping tour in socialist countries. These speeches set the stage for 1961, the year of two main tasks for the revolution as it marches forward: to expose and sterilize the counterrevolutionary fifth column, and to end illiteracy once and for all.

The "Year of Education" (which demands a later report to itself) was launched in the No. 1 camp of Batista's hated army, now a great new school center with the Education Ministry occupying the main building. In every such former fortress of oppression in Cuba, said Castro, today "force has been replaced by reason, bayonets by pencils, army manuals by school books."

In old army camps 40,000 children are studying. Referring to U.S.-satellite governments which had broken or might break relations with Cuba, Castro asked when **they** would start sending out teachers to help the people rather than soldiers to repress them.

THE COUNTERREVOLUTION: After the parade on Jan. 2, Castro began by pointing out that the audience was comparatively small—a mere half-million, mostly women—because the emergency required the militiamen and women who had passed by from before noon to after dusk to return immediately to their posts. His theme was not the revolution's benefits, which were "seen and lived by the people," but the nature of the counterrevolution which inevitably resulted from any clash between majority and minority interests, between "yesterday and tomorrow."

Day-to-day experience, Castro went on, had made it ever clearer that the struggle with counterrevolution was a fight to the death. Of the Cuban fifth column, he said: "We know who they, their supporters and allies are": the old bureaucracy and owning class, "the small parasites" and above all "the great forces of imperialism, now the chief brake upon the advance of humanity." The world-wide solidarity of these forces made it a David-and-Goliath struggle; but "David has the strength of moral consciousness and human solidarity . . . the revolution has changed selfishness into generosity, has swept, purified and redeemed."

FOR ALL HUMANITY: Announcing the death penalty for terrorists and saboteurs, Castro said: "We know which social class supports and protects them. They hide in the homes of the wealthy . . . and if we have to occupy these homes one by one, we will occupy them and use them as schools or housing for the poor . . . If we have to take an entire district we will take an entire district!"

And this, with regard to a possible invasion, was the note on which Castro ended one of his toughest speeches: "We think not only about Cuba—that would be selfish—but also with sadness about the sacrifices which an aggression against our country would mean for other peoples; the dangers it would imply for humanity—for above individual people are nations, and above nations is humanity itself."

"THEY SPEAK FOR THE PEOPLE WITH ELOQUENT HONESTY"
Guevara, agrarian director Nunez Jiminez and Castro outline the tasks

ECONOMIC AID: On Jan. 6 Che Guevara outlined the revolutionary economic prospects in an appearance before a TV panel which lasted far into the night. He gave chapter and verse on his journey across Eurasia to the Pacific's eastern shores, to explode the still-popular illusion of U.S. or "Western" economic and technological omnipotence over small countries. Some of the deals he made for Cuba:

- **CHINA:** Against the $70,000,000 credit granted Cuba, China is sending a textile mill and factories for insecticides, gas pumps, valves, fountain pens, industrial dynamite and chemicals, auto tires, transmission belts, piston rings, brake linings . . . "Vast unsuspected possibilities" of trade are indicated by the fact that if China raised its annual per-capita sugar consumption to ten kilos (still only one-fourth of Cuba's), this would consume Cuba's entire sugar crop of 7,000,000 tons.
- **U.S.S.R.:** Contracts are already signed against all the $100,000,000 credit extended. Soviet experts to set up a steel industry; to prospect for more Cuban oil (now produced in small quantities here) and install a million-ton-a-year refinery; to prospect for known but untapped mineral wealth (copper, nickel, manganese, chrome); to install a plant to make replacement parts for now-predominating U.S. machines.
- **CZECHOSLOVAKIA:** Credit, upped from $20,000,000 to $40,000,000, to be used for installing tractor, truck and auto plants probably near Santiago. For these plants, electricity generated in Cuba to rise by 100% with purchases mainly from Czechoslovakia and U.S.S.R.
- **POLAND:** A shipyard, eventually to build up to 10,000-ton ships; slaughter-house and electric battery plants.

All the other socialist countries have made deals, at prices which Guevara said are from 10 to 20% below capitalist countries (ready - to - operate industrial plants 50% cheaper). Arrangements were also made for 2,400 Cuban students and workers to go to eight socialist countries for scientific, technical, industrial and agricultural study. By the end of 1965, Guevara said, Cuba would be "at least an agrarian - industrial country"—and perhaps, if current experiments are successful for new sugar cane processing methods and products, an industrial-agrarian country.

SWIFT CHANGES Guevara was far from underestimating the problems involved—for example, the need to adapt Cuba's entire system of weights, measures and electrical cycles to the traditional standards of socialist countries. (One of the Cuban revolution's crop of young geniuses, a 21-year-old trained as an architect, has had this complex coordination job thrown to him and is apparently well on top of it already.) But the bearded, casually attired director of the state bank recalled that Cuba took only ten months to change its wholly colonial structure, dependent on monopoly capitalists, into a state monopoly over all external and most internal trade.

Long past the point where anyone but a Cuban **rebelde** would surely have collapsed from exhaustion, Guevara in answer to a panelist's question launched into a sparkling exposition of revolutionary theory. According to Cuban principle based on experience, he said, revolutions must as a general rule "be made in the underdeveloped countries of America basing themselves on the peasant class. Spreading out from rural nuclei, with small groups broadening themselves in the struggle and taking over the cities from the countryside, is the way victory will be won."

Guevara cites N. Korea example

IN THE COURSE of his "$250,000,000 shopping tour" report, Che Guevara said that North Korea—similar in size to Cuba, with some 3,000,000 more population—impressed him more than any country visited. The war had left absolutely nothing standing a few years ago. Some factories had been hit by up to 50,000 bombs—"and we thought it was something when 10 or 12 bombs fell around us in the Sierra."

With nothing left to bomb, U.S. fliers had "amused themselves blasting cows"—"a veritable orgy of killing." He had seen photos of things past all belief: of caves where hundreds of small children had been put and killed with guns or gas; of pregnant women bayoneted to make their babies fall from their wombs; of wounded people sprayed by flame-throwers—"the most inhuman things the human brain can imagine, done by the North American army of occupation."

From all this—following on 30 years of Japanese occupation which had kept them one of the world's most backward peoples—the Koreans have risen up. A million people now live in Pyongyang, an entirely new capital showing no trace of the war. A national culture thrives and secondary education up to the ninth grade is compulsory. Agriculture is rapidly being mechanized.

Guevara saw there "the model of a country which has been able to master the greatest misfortunes to become an industrialized country today." Cubans who still thought of Korea as backward should note that "we are selling them crude sugar and unprocessed products like henequen, and they are selling us lathes, mining and all kinds of machinery—products necessitating a high technical capacity to produce."

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W.E.B. DU BOIS REPORTS ON A NEW NATION: II

What future holds for Nigeria

By W. E. B. Du Bois

(Second of two articles)

NIGERIA IS A RICH LAND. By this the West means that it has an abundance of cheap labor; immense areas of rich land and forests; and stores of coal, oil, lead, tin, zinc and other metals. It can produce palm oil, raise cocoa and fruit, and has vast potential water power. If developed by Western capital and technique as colonies have been, Nigeria could be a vast source of wealth and power to the world.

When, on the other hand, Nigerians call their country rich, they mean that there can be raised in this land enough to feed, clothe and shelter the people, and surplus to sell abroad for machinery and skills and comforts. In the past, Nigerians have by their folkways in family and clan life avoided extreme poverty and hunger; settled the problem of women so as to support widows, taken care of orphans and avoid prostitution; they have fought disease and crime and been on the whole a contented people. But contact with the modern world has shown them the possibility of greater happiness. They see the necessity of education in modern knowledge, the possibilities of more comfort in living, better fighting of disease, larger production of goods with less work and a broader life. How can this be attained?

The British teach that if Nigerians accept their leadership and advice, all will be well, but the Nigerians, looking back on the past, are beginning to realize the slave trade, the cheating in commerce and exploiting in work. They remind the British that only agitation, punished often by jail, has forced the British to yield the blacks a voice in government. They are glad to make the transfer of authority from white to black in peace and harmony but are determined to be watchful in the future. They are, however, not disposed to question the usual investment procedure of business and individual initiative and are willing that a Nigerian bourgeoisie should share profit arising from foreign exploiting of land and labor.

AMERICANS, on the other hand, announced at the summer meeting of NATO a plan to drive both Britain and France from Africa and to put American capital in full charge. They would be willing to associate American Negro capitalists with them and such Nigerian businessmen as are willing to let white Americans lead. This NATO meeting was considerably upset when an American Negro present dissented from their plans.

Facing these plans are two kinds of thinking. There is a trend toward socialism, not dominant but strong and Azikiwe is in sympathy with this. It believes in raising capital as much as possible at home, and in borrowing from communist countries rather than from Britain or the United States. It does not welcome American Negroes unless they are thoroughly African in sympathy and suspicious of the West.

There is, however, a third force which must be watched: that is the ancient faith in communal family and clan. This method of protecting the masses is distinctly socialist. In the past no member of the tribe need go hungry while any had food. Widows married the dead man's brother. Orphans were adopted in the family. Capital was raised by the tribe and profits belonged to the tribe. Land could not be sold and all had land to use. Trade was carried on by small distributors, chiefly women, in vast markets where the consumer came in direct contact with producer.

These old folkways and this economic organization have changed by the breaking up of families, by some rise of mass industry and the growth of cities. A new and pushing bourgeoisie is gaining power and foreigners with capital are widely in evidence. British, Swiss and Lebanese corporations do large business and in America lately there are 12 organizations which profess great interest in Africa or knowledge of it. They are called variously "American Committee on Africa," "African Studies Association," African - American Institute," Society of African Culture," "African Defense Aid," etc. They are mainly financed by the government or by Big Business.

THESE ORGANIZATIONS and other persons almost without exception dub any return to African communalism as "communism" and sternly warn Africans against it. This does not please men like Azikiwe or the Federal Prime Minister. While Britain advises Nigeria to advance by installing private capitalism and individual initiative, a growing number of educated Nigerians are beginning to ask if their country cannot step directly from communalism to socialism and avoid the catastrophe of modern private capitalism. The investors and the native bourgeois are still in the lead but the race is not to the swift.

GOVERNOR GENERAL AND MRS. AZIKIWE

He is sympathetic to the trend

This puts a hard strain on Northern Nigeria. Here is the stronghold of hereditary power, restrained by ancient custom and the domination of women and now pushed by the demands of democracy. The chiefs are yielding by accepting election as local councilors, but the House of Chiefs is still of great influence and the Sultans and Emirs will long rank as more than ordinary citizens. They are yielding in hospitals and schools but how far will they yield in trade and industry? It was an inspiration to see the University College at Ibadan and the new University at Enugu, built by the joint effort of Nigerian and British but now turned over to black administration.

Lagos and lower Nigeria were always centers of town life. I rode through Ibadan, a city of a million inhabitants. There the bourgeois merchant and civil servant are powerful but so also is the consumers' market. At Onitsha I saw one of the largest markets in Africa, selling cotton and velvet, dishes and tools, food and drink and all manner of materials stretched over acres of space, dominated by women and seething with activity.

WE PAID OUR RESPECTS before to the Asantehene in Kumasi, and now to the Obi of Onitsha in Nigeria, a mild man of dignity and education before whom thousands still prostrate themselves. We rode by the throngs at the palace of the Aleko of Abeokuta. Such kings have reigned longer than any European dynasty and they feel it. But they despise the rule of the mob and the assumption of the tinker and the shopkeeper. Here they draw close to British aristocracy and British aristocracy cultivates them almost obsequiously. At the State Ball of the new black Governor, British ladies (and not bar-maids) sat with and danced in the arms of robed and crowned black Emirs. How will democracy fare in this fight?

On the other hand where lie the interests of the Western world?

There are in the world today at least 25 giant corporations which are international empires and interlocked centers of vast wealth and power. British Unilevers alone has a billion dollars in capital and a net annual income of more than a quarter of a billion and trade in every corner of the Western and colonial worlds. These corporations control armies, navies and nuclear weapons, screen news and direct public opinion, and make the laws which curb or let them. They rule Western Europe and all America. They have lost most of Asia but they are now set to dominate Africa. Nigeria has its own 40,000,000 and is tied by blood and custom to at least 60,000,000 other blacks in the Sudan, Uganda, Kenya and other regions.

If Western capital can put into world industry and commerce this cheap black labor working on rare raw materials, it can by modern methods leave in the hands of capitalists as profit incalculable power to control mankind. On the other hand, if this profit can be kept in the hands of the workers, socialism can triumph tomorrow in a world devoid of poverty, ignorance and unnecessary disease.

AT THE INAUGURAL OF THE FIRST AFRICAN GOVERNOR GENERAL IN NIGERIA

From l. to r.: Tom Mboya of Kenya, Shirley Graham Du Bois, Dr. Du Bois; others unidentified

'HE BELIEVED IN MAN'S RIGHT TO DIGNITY'

Author Dashiell Hammett dead in New York at 66

DASHIELL HAMMETT, renowned author of detective fiction and a longtime progressive, died on Jan. 10 in a New York hospital of a chronic lung ailment. His age was 66.

Hammett's hard-boiled detectives, created in the late Twenties and early Thirties, set a trend in mystery fiction. His novels included **The Maltese Falcon, The Glass Key, The Dain Curse, Red Harvest** and **The Thin Man.** They were circulated throughout the world and some were adapted for movies. Radio series were based on characters from his books —Sam Spade, the Fat Man and the Thin Man.

Hammett was blacklisted from work in movies and television because of his association with progressive causes. In 1951 he was sentenced to six months in jail for contempt because he refused to name persons who contributed to the Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund of which he was a trustee. He served three months and was released for good behavior. He also taught courses in writing at the Marxist Jefferson School of Social Science in New York.

HIS CREDO: Hammett invoked the Fifth Amendment in an appearance before Sen. McCarthy's committee and as a result his books were removed from U.S. overseas libraries. They were returned in 1953 after President Eisenhower, at a press conference, said he was an admirer of Hammett's books.

Hammett was born on Maryland's Eastern Shore. He left school at the age of 13 and worked as a newsboy, freight clerk, railroad laborer, longshoreman and advertising man. As a forerunner to his writing, he worked for eight years as a Pinkerton detective. He once caught a man who had stolen a ferris wheel.

He served in World War I with the Motor Ambulance Corps. In World War II, at the age of 48, he enlisted in the Army and served for two years in the Aleutian Islands. At his request he was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

At funeral services, Lillian Hellman, Hammett's devoted friend, said in a eulogy: "Dash wrote about violence, but he had contempt for it, and thus he had contempt for heroics . . . He believed in man's right to dignity, and never in all the years did he play anybody's game but his own—he never lied, he never faked, he never stooped."

MOSCOW'S AIM: PEACE, NOT BRINKMANSHIP

Soviets want better U. S. relations

By W. G. Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent
MOSCOW

AS WE ENTER the New Year and the U.S. installs its new President, what are the prospects for 1961 as seen from here? An indication of the course of Soviet foreign policy is the statement of the 81 world Communist leaders after their three-week session here last November. Another is the foreign policy report by Andrei Gromyko to the pre-Christmas session of the Supreme Soviet. Premier Khrushchev provided some additional pointers in his message to President-elect Kennedy and various speeches during the New Year period.

The statement is a synthesis of many viewpoints which upholds the general line on which Soviet foreign policy is based—peaceful coexistence and the non-inevitability of war—but contains a number of new points which have never been spelled out before.

From the thesis that the "principal characteristic of our time is that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society" and that today it is "the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism . . . that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the development of society," it goes on to some other interesting points which could have important implications in the near future.

ON COUNTERREVOLUTION: It reaffirms the oft-repeated principle that

Boris Efimov, Izvestia

"Communist parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution;" but it also comes up with a brand new one:

"At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counterrevolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution."

It would be difficult to be more precise. Coexistence, yes. But not at any price. Non-intervention is the best policy. But unilateral intervention will not be permitted and the world socialist system is strong enough to ensure this. This was the view hammered out and unanimously endorsed by the 81 Communist party delegations, 11 of which were headed by chiefs of government or chiefs of state. It is a very tough declaration of policy but is tempered throughout by the overwhelming emphasis on the need to avoid war. And in fact there is nothing inconsistent with the demand for real non-intervention and the insistence on

"BRINKMANSHIP" PRODUCED THESE CASUALTIES IN SUEZ IN 1956
The socialist world sees itself strong enough to stop such wars

peaceful coexistence. The threats of U.S. intervention in Cuba and actual intervention in Laos are obviously cases in point.

ON BRINKMANSHIP: "The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time," continues the statement. "The Communists regard it as their historical mission . . . to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war in our time. The Communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission."

The struggle for peace as the primary task of all Communist parties is repeated several times. But it is also made clear that "brinkmanship" is not to be permitted to take any tricks by speculating that Communist policy is "peace at any price."

U.S. "imperialism" is denounced with very harsh words as "the main force of aggression and war . . . the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme . . . an enemy of the peoples of the whole world . . ." And it is noted—with what seems an obvious reference to Korea and Indo-China—that "experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by imperialists," and—Suez, for instance—"to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars."

So much for some of the main points on foreign policy which have a fairly direct bearing on issues facing the world at the moment.

PUSH-BUTTON GENERALS: Gromyko's report to the Supreme Soviet session last month was listened to with more than usual interest—press and diplomatic galleries were jammed—in the light of the statement issued a couple of weeks earlier. To what extent would his speech reflect the statement? Especially vis-a-vis Soviet-American relations? He pulled no punches as far as American involvement in colonial issues was concerned. He spoke more in sorrow than in anger about the U.S. attitude on disarmament and made an effective point about American support for the "Norstad Plan" to give NATO a nuclear striking force.

"All this verbosity," he said, referring to General Norstad's argument about 15 fingers on the nuclear trigger, "covers up the intention to place nuclear weapons at the disposal of the NATO command which will get the right to issue orders on launching nuclear-tipped missiles without the sanction of the governments concerned, to say nothing of the parliaments. But what will be left of the U.S. Constitution and laws if the NATO command will be able to involve the U.S.A. in a nuclear war without the President or Congress? What will be left of the Constitutions and laws of other NATO countries if the destinies of all these states and their peoples will be placed in the hands of Norstads and West German Speidels? The 'fourth nuclear power' at a closer look turns out to be a 'power' of nuclear push-button generals . . . ."

OUTSTRETCHED HAND: On the key point of American-Soviet relations, Gromyko made it clear—as Khrushchev has done since—that the Soviet hand is stretched out quite far if President-elect Kennedy wants to take it. What he said is worth repeating as the new President takes up his post:

"It is no secret that definite hopes, particularly for the improvement of relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are pinned in many countries, including the U.S.A. itself, on the coming to power of Mr. Kennedy. The Soviet government would also like Soviet-American relations to return, as N. S. Khrushchev pointed out in his telegram of congratulations to the President-elect, to the course along which they developed during the days of Franklin. Roosevelt.

"The Soviet government expresses the hope that with the coming to office of the new U.S. President the prevailing unfavorable atmosphere in relations will be cleared. This would be useful for the development of political and also economic contacts between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. which are now actually reduced to nil. This would facilitate hundreds of times over the possibility of reaching agreement on those international problems which are still unsolved.

"I am authorized to state from the rostrum of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet that, as far as the Soviet government is concerned, it is absolutely ready to assist in improving Soviet-American relations." These were the phrases in a 15,000 word statement to which most attention was paid by press and diplomats.

HIGH HOPES: Khrushchev took things a step further at the Kremlin reception on New Year's Eve when he noted that Kennedy as a Senator had said that as President he would have apologized for the U-2 incident to secure summit talks. Khrushchev said he was ready to bury the incident and would not raise it in the UN in order that "the bad past will not hinder our hopes for a better future." And he went on:

"We would like to hope that our strivings for better relations will be correctly understood both by the American people and the new President. I permit myself to express the hope that in the New Year the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. will turn over a new leaf in their relations to ensure peaceful coexistence between states, to ensure world peace . . . ."

This correspondent has written many times that the Soviet people have a specially soft spot in their hearts for the American people. In nearly four years of living here, there has been no reason to modify this statement. Soviet people have been reared with a respect for American technique and for what they still believe is a fundamentally democratic, new world spirit. Roosevelt, of course, is a beloved hero to most Russians. The mere coupling of his name here with hopes for the new Democratic Administration has kindled all sorts of popular hopes for a return to the good old days of Soviet-American friendship. Officially these hopes are openly encouraged. But no one here would agree that friendship with the new Administration would be worth acquiring at the cost of passively accepting armed intervention against Cuba or permitting the imposition by force of arms in Laos of a SEATO-backed regime hostile to China and North Vietnam.

THE STARTING POINT: There were many anxious suggestions here that the last few days before the installation of the new President would be dangerous ones. Could not the Dulles elements in the old Administration try to face the new President with a **fait accompli** of armed intervention in Cuba or Southeast Asia? Strangely enough, no one suggested that if this happened it could also be in collusion with the new Administration. The break in diplomatic relations with Cuba has naturally strengthened suspicions of the **fait accompli** idea.

To sum up, the statement of the Communist parties and the Gromyko and Khrushchev speeches seem to add up to these points as far as U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations are concerned:

- There is to be no backing away from any issues even where force or threat of force are implied.
- The Soviet Union will take no initiatives to precipitate crises but would react promptly to any such U.S. initiatives.

Starting from these basic premises the Soviet Union will make it as easy as possible for the new Administration to improve relations on a mutually profitable basis. If there is an improvement of U.S.S.R.-U.S. relations one can expect a whole series of fairly generous Soviet initiatives to solve outstanding cold-war issues.

What's the mood in the U.S.S.R. today?

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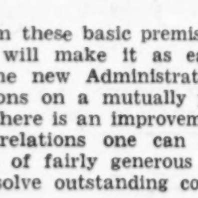

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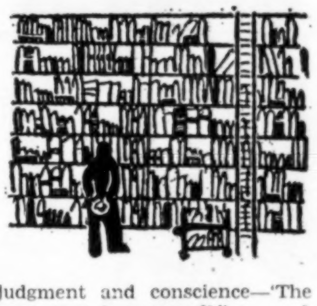
BOOKS

The progress of the Bard



ALTHOUGH all of Mr. O'Connor's theses fall far short of proof, and many of them seem to me clearly wrong-headed, his book* is fun to read as is any informed, passionate and perceptive book about Shakespeare.

It does not seem to me at all likely, for instance, that "**Edward III** is all Shakespeare's"; that "No one really wants to know the meaning of adjectives in lines like 'the gaudy, blabbing and remorseful day'"; that "the whole mysterious Fortinbras business [in Hamlet] may be an interpolation connected with the old Queen's death and the problem of the succession;" or that "the gagging passages between Hamlet and Polonius" are incomprehensible unless we assume them to refer to private backstage jokes about a particular comedian and his previous roles. Yet I enjoy the wealth of quotations and frequent humor O'Connor uses in arguing his points, and I feel that anyone who has followed Shakespeare so long and so lovingly has some right to gallop off on a tangent occasionally, even though he drags his master rather unceremoniously along at the heels of his hobby horse.

FURTHERMORE, there is much fine perception underlying the often violently misdirected logic. Two major examples of this are to be found in his discussion of the controversial play, **The Merchant of Venice,** and in his summary of the bitter last comedies, so un-Shakespearean in their indifference to human life.

One looks in vain in many less whimsical critics for so keen an insight as that concluding O'Connor's analysis of **The Merchant of Venice,** which he lists as one of Shakespeare's masterpieces. He says:

"But Antonio is only one part of Shakespeare, the part that loved a lord. The other is Shylock . . . Undoubtedly, Shakespeare has taken great pains to see that he never becomes a really unsympathetic character: in us, as in Shakespeare, there is an underdog who has felt 'the insolence of office and the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes,' and we know what it is to desire revenge, even to the extreme of murder. . . . The greatness of this very great play is that it searches out the Shylock in each of us, and makes us bring in a verdict against judgment and conscience—'The poor man is wronged'."

A SMALL but select group of writers, including Hazlitt, Heine, George Eliot and her husband in all but name, George Henry Lewes, share the foregoing realization and O'Connor stands out as even more exceptional in his appreciation of the profound pessimism in Shakespeare's unhappy **Cymbeline, The Winter's Tale** and **The Tempest.** He is almost alone among Shakespearean critics in seeing that:

"The one mistake we must avoid when considering these last plays is that of imagining that they express 'optimism' . . . . or 'reconciliation' . . . . The story of the man who, having emerged from the dark pit of **Lear** turned his eyes to the sunlit peace of **The Tempest** (see any critical work on Shakespeare) is a pretty tale which . . . . has nothing whatever to do with Shakespeare. On the contrary . . . . in all of them there is, apart from the poetry, an appalling note of weariness, of which the most characteristic word is probably 'ebbed,' as though Shakespeare felt that the high tide of life had receded from him and left only mud behind. 'I like to think how Shakespeare pruned his rose and ate his pippin in his orchard close' sings the greatest of Shakespearean scholars, but whenever I think of him in those last years at Stratford it is as . . . . an old castle 'high and hollow and burnt out.'"

I AM SURE O'Connor would find completely unacceptable an interpretation of this gloom as a reaction to the deepening crisis in early 17th century English capitalism, so soon to precipitate the bloodiest civil war England has yet known.

But an ability to recognize the quality and impact of a work of art is an even more fundamental necessity for the critic than an understanding of its cause. It is just because O'Connor's most perverse, fine-spun theories are still directed to explaining real and important phenomena in the plays that one can enjoy and even learn from his criticism without at all agreeing with it.

—**Annette T. Rubinstein**

**SHAKESPEARE'S PROGRESS*, by Frank O'Connor. The World Publishing Co. 191 pp. $3.50.*

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Dr. Rubinstein is now completing plans for her Cross-Country West Coast speaking tour, and will be in the Midwest (Detroit to Denver) March 2-9; in California March 10-20; in the Northwest March 21-27; in British Columbia March 28-April 6; in the Northern Midwest and Eastern Canada April 6-17; (dates approximate).

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Foreign policy crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

nist Vietnamese and Chinese. This is precisely the impression that Gen. Phoumi Nosavan's government wanted to create. Phoumi would like nothing better than to have somebody else—preferably the U.S. or Thailand—fight his war."

Nosavan followed up with a whopper: Soviet invasion of Laos. London **Daily Express** correspondent Bertram Jones reported (Jan. 4):

"Laos has gingered things up dangerously and brought the situation almost to explosion point. But this suits the Right-wing government. [Nosavan's] Prime Minister Prince Boun Oum knows his team is unpopular. He hopes to win support by presenting Laos as a victim of outside aggression."

EAGER WASHINGTON: The situation in Laos is explosive not because Nosavan wants direct U.S. intervention but because Washington seems all too eager to intervene. The moderate Denis Healey, British Labor MP and spokesman on foreign affairs, wrote in the **Daily Express** (Jan. 4) that the "inspired rumors" about North Vietnamese invasion were spread "to justify [Washington's] decision . . . to put American troops directly in the fighting."

British novelist Graham Greene wrote to the London **Times** (Jan. 4): **"If full scale war develops in Laos we shall have a heavy load on our conscience . . . One is painfully reminded of the Spanish Civil War. America has taken on the role played then by Germany and Italy . . . One can only hope that England will not play again her former pusillanimous part by aiding, with her ambiguous diplomacy, the forces of the right."**

Cuba

During the ten days before Kennedy's inauguration, the Cubans went out of their way to try to relax tension; the U.S. responded with a ban on travel to Cuba by all Americans except those "whose travel may be regarded as being in the best interest of the U.S." Washington's explanation was that it could no longer "provide protection" to Americans in Cuba. Earlier, when the U.S. Embassy in Havana hauled down the flag, and Americans in Cuba were given similar warning and urged to leave, the Associated Press reported (Jan. 4):

"For every American who left, scores stayed behind to take their chances in Cuba without any U.S. government protection."

Kennedy himself seemed to dim the

Vicky, London Evening Standard

"Who says I'm a lame duck?"

Castro government's hope for erasing the past and starting with a clean slate in Cuban-American relations; he was reported to be sticking to his campaign pledge of "the strongest economic sanctions" against Havana, beginning with an embargo on Cuban tobacco, molasses, fruits and vegetables (New York **Times**, Jan. 15).

American newspapers played up stories about Cubans training in Florida to overthrow the Castro government; defections in the ranks of Castro's forces, and complaints from anti-Castro Cuban exiles that only U.S. reluctance to arm them properly prevented their taking off for "Cuba's liberation."

THE CHURCH'S ROLE: Also publicized was "a new pastoral letter urging all Christians in Cuba to rally for a new struggle against communism" (AP, Jan. 14). Last Oct. 26, the **Wall Street Journal** reported:

"The church's political position is further weakened . . . by its history here. It stood by Spain throughout the struggle for Cuban independence, and after independence was unable or unwilling to identify itself with the liberalizing forces . . . Then, as Cuba fell under one dictator after another . . . the church kept silent on political and social matters."

Some sharp criticim of Castro, the **Wall Street Journal** noted, was coming from young priests who were in the Sierra Maestra with the revolutionary army. These priests were claiming "betrayal" only because they saw Castro as a "reformist" and not a radical leader who would "improve the economic and social lot of Cuba's lower classes and at the same time win them back to the church."

NO HYSTERIA: The Cubans were taking the possibility of an attack on their island seriously but without hysteria. Castro had ample reason to be provoked about the U.S. base on Guantanamo: at the UN, early this month, Foreign Minister Raul Roa charged that men trained in camps scattered throughout Florida were being flown in U.S. planes to Swan Island off Honduras in the Caribbean and then in groups of 150 to Guatanamo. The U.S. rebuttal ignored this charge.

Castro, however, said he had no intention of acting on Guantanamo, although he had enough precedents to demand U.S. evacuation. President Bourguiba has demanded withdrawal of Western forces from Tunisia; Panama considers the recent hoisting of the Panamanian flag over the Canal Zone as only the first step to sovereignty over the Zone; Washington is now renegotiating a modified treaty on the Chauguaramas base in Trinidad; and the U.S. has begun evacuating its bases in Morocco. U.S. control of Guantanamo becomes especially untenable in the light of the **Wall Street Journal's** report (Jan. 10) that "high-ranking Pentagon officials privately concede its main importance is one of prestige."

The Congo

In the Congo, illegally imprisoned Premier Lumumba continued to exert more influence than any other Congolese leader, despite all efforts by Belgium and the U.S. to discredit and even destroy him. His followers not only seemed to be well established in Oriental province but were reported to have taken over areas in other provinces, including the mineral-rich, secessionist province of Katanga. They defeated troops of U.S.-supported Col. Mobutu who had attacked them from the neighboring Belgian trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi to which they had been flown by Belgians. Brig. Indarjit Rikhye, Indian military adviser to the UN in the Congo, said that the Belgian-aided attack from Ruanda-Urundi was tantamount to aggression.

The Soviet Union on Jan. 12 asked the UN Security Council to relieve Belgium of its trusteeship, granted to it after Germany's defeat in World War I. At the same time Ceylon, Liberia and the United Arab Republic introduced a resolution condemning Belgium for aiding in the attack from Ruanda-Urundi. The West and its allies defeated both resolutions by abstaining. Four votes were recorded in favor.

The Outlook

In the light of Kennedy's recent statements and actions, even the most hopeful expected little immediate change in the nation's foreign policy.

It remained to be seen whether Adlai Stevenson, as chief U.S. delegate, would bring to the UN any change more substantial than an accomplished delivery of clever epigrams.

His support of U.S. diplomatic break with Cuba did not augur well.

On the issue of the Congo, it would have been logical for the retiring chief U.S. delegate Wadsworth, in his last appearance in the UN, to have offered a foretaste of any change planned by his successor; but Wadsworth's support for Belgian action in Ruanda-Urundi was unqualified.

And above all skepticism over a change in policy under Kennedy is strengthened by his reappointment of Allen Dulles as head of the Central Intelligence Agency. For Dulles is credited with some of the more disreputable aspects of U.S. policy.

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Senate liberals lose

(Continued from Page 1)

ate go into effect, any effort to change them can itself be filibustered to death. And no one expects that the anti-filibuster forces can muster the two-thirds majority now required to halt debate.

In addition, the possibility of a change in Rule 22 by majority vote rested on the opinion of Vice President Nixon that each Senate after an election is a new body and by majority vote can adopt whatever rules it wishes. Vice President-elect Johnson holds, as do all Dixiecrats, that the Senate is a continuing body and can change its rules only by proceeding according to the previous rules—which permit a filibuster. Action, to succeed, had to come before Inaugural Day.

Liberal Democrats could win only before their own Vice President was installed. Sen. Douglas told the Senate that unless action against the filibuster was taken at once "it is in fact goodbye to civil rights legislation for the next four years. In the next Congress we may not be in the same position . . . that we are in during the interregnum before the new Administration takes office . . . for reasons which I shall not go ino but which are fairly obvious." Sen. Humphrey made the same point: "The danger . . . is the danger of carrying over beyond Jan. 20" [Inauguration Day].

PLATFORMS BETRAYED: The Senate refusal to amend its rules is a clear betrayal of the platform pledges of both parties. The Democratic platform promised "action at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve Congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails. . . ." Douglas protested the obvious violation of this plank: "There is altogether too much of a tendency in these days to treat party platforms as something with which to bamboozle the voters . . . A vote in favor of [the Mansfield-Dirksen motion] is a vote against the Democratic platform." Republican Sen. Clifford Case (N.J.) broke in to say that "a vote for the pending motion . . . is also a violation of the Republican platform."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., vice chairman for civil rights of Americans for Democratic Action, charged that "Sen. Mansfield betrayed the Democratic platform and the civil rights forces which worked their hearts out for Sen. Kennedy." A leading Negro newspaper, the **Afro-American** (Jan. 3), criticized Kennedy in its comment on the advance news that a fight would not be made by the Democratic leaders to change Rule 22: "Sorely disappointing to millions of voters who supported President-elect John Kennedy is the decision to abandon the Democratic platform . . . Without action on this pledge, the other sections of the platform dealing not only with civil rights, but liberal legislation as well, have no chance of enactment . . . we hope he reconsiders . . ."

VICE PRESIDENT JOHNSON
The Senate liberals were bitter

APPEASEMENT: Before Congress opened, the liberal New York **Post** worried (Dec. 30, 1960) about Kennedy's "fateful silence" on the Senate Rules change and said that "in remaining neutral . . . he is making the first big mistake of his impending Presidency . . . As an augury of how other campaign pledges will be honored, it is, to say the least, discouraging." After the Senate vote, the **Post** said that "Mansfield has begun his career as a majority leader with an act of craven appeasement" and charged that the defeat resulted from "a flagrant, shameless alliance" between Mansfield, Dirksen and the Dixiecrats. The **Post** concluded: "We are compelled to ask whether Mansfield would have performed so ignobly without the consent of President-elect Kennedy. The answer is obvious."

Kennedy played a double game on this fateful first Congressional issue under his leadership. He tried to cover himself with his civil rights supporters by referring to his past support of anti-filibuster moves and by a public statement from Palm Beach that he favored majority rule in the Senate. On the other hand, he publicly declared "hands off" in the Senate fight while working out a deal with Vice President-elect Johnson and Majority Leader Mansfield to sidetrack the issue. The rationalization for the deal is that it would clear the way for passage with Southern support of Kennedy's domestic program. Many observers believe the opposite will be the result.

WHAT THEY SAY: Unquestionably, given the close 50 to 46 vote, two or three phone calls from Kennedy to northern Democrats voting with the Dixiecrats would have changed the results. While there is debate among Washington correspondents as to whether this should have been done, there is no debate as to whether Mr. Kennedy could have changed the results.

Washington correspondent Roscoe Drummond wrote: "I think it is unfair for disappointed Democrats to concentrate their ire upon Majority Leader Mansfield. What was President-elect Kennedy doing while a minority of Democratic Senators were trying to carry out the platform? He was silent. He never raised his voice to help change Rule 22 and by his silence . . . he made it clear to Mr. Mansfield that he thought the Senator was doing just right in acting to shelve the effort to strengthen majority rule."

Columnist Doris Fleeson wrote that it seemed "remarkable that President-elect Kennedy did not make the slightest effort to help Democratic Senators committed to his program win their fight to end the filibuster . . . With only a very modest effort, the incoming President could have persuaded two Democrats to switch their vote . . ."

LIBERALS BITTER: Liberal Democratic Senators were still bitter at Johnson's effort to continue as boss over the Senate Democratic Caucus. The successful move by Sen. Mansfield to have the Vice President preside at caucus meetings was reported as adding $40,000 in payroll patronage for Mr. Johnson. Also, the partial victory won when the Democratic Caucus gained the right to approve the Majority Leader's appointments to the Policy Committee was undermined when the liberals learned that last summer Johnson had secretly filled the posts vacated by retiring Sens. James Murray (Mont.) and Theodore Green (R.I.). The liberal Senators had not even known of these crucial assignments.

Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) waged a one-man protest against packing the Finance and Judiciary Committees with reactionaries under the chairmanship of Sen. Harry Byrd (Va.) and Sen. James Eastland (Miss.) who bitterly oppose the Democratic platform. The Johnson-Mansfield team made sure that the Judiciary Committee remains strongly anti-civil rights and pro-McCarthyite by denying appointments to liberals Quentin Burdick (N.D.) and Lee Metcalf (Mont.). Instead, the two vacancies were filled by multi-millionaire reactionary Sen. William A. Blakely of Texas and conservative Sen. Edward V. Long of Missouri. Arkansas Sen. William Fulbright was put on the Finance Committee.

Clark himself was turned down for a place on the Foreign Affairs Committee which went to Thomas Dodd (Conn.) with two years less seniority. The New York **Post** called this "a peculiarly discreditable and vengeful act that dishonors the new Administration . . . Only small children will believe this was done without Mr. Kennedy's knowledge."

Jensen, Chicago Daily News
Operation operation

Art sale for SANE in Greenwich Village

THE GREENWICH VILLAGE Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is holding an exhibition and sale of paintings, drawings and sculpture at the Bleecker Street Cinema, 144 Bleecker St., New York. The sale, which will be open until Jan. 22, is for the benefit of the local committee.

LOS ANGELES

COME! SEE! HEAR!
The Guardian's 12th Anniversary Celebration
WITH
JAMES ARONSON, Editor
"HOT NEWS and the COLD WAR"
An Address on the American Press and World Crisis
AND
PAUL M. SWEEZY
Visiting Stanford Professor, Co-editor of Monthly Review
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An Address on the American Press and World Crisis
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Chairman: **Carl Haessler**
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Editor of The **GUARDIAN**
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HOT NEWS and the **COLD WAR**
at the
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I. CUBA AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
Trotsky's Theory of World Revolution and the Cuban Developments by Theodore Edwards, Socialist writer, lecturer and radio commentator. Time: 11-12:30.
II. RISE AND DECLINE OF AMERICAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT
A Study of Development & Disintegration of the American Communist Party by Arne Swabeck, a participant, one of the founders of Amer. Communist Party and the Amer. Trotskyist Movement
and
Max Geldman, Socialist lecturer & organizer
Time: 12:30-2 p.m.
Date: Sun., Jan. 29, and each Sunday thereafter
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MINNEAPOLIS

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THE GALLERY

ONE OF THE APPEALING ASPECTS of the Cuban revolution is the retention of a sense of humor even in trying times. Any revolution in which citizens openly poke good-natured fun at their leaders is bound to be difficult to overturn. This is a currently popular story in Havana, brought back by a recent visitor:

It seems that Batista came back to power and decreed that Fidel Castro and his fellow revolutionaries be buried alive to the depth that they are immersed in Communism. Accordingly, Dorticos was buried to his hips, Nunez Jimenez to his chest, Juan Almeida to his neck, Castro to his chin and Che Guevara was nowhere to be seen.

But Raul Castro was apparently buried only to his shins. Fidel called to him: "Raul, what are you doing way up there? You are as deep in this thing as any of us."

"Sh-h-h," Raul answered, "I'm standing on Che's shoulders."

A more sober account of Cuban politics will be heard on WBAI-FM (99.5) in New York Jan. 24 at 7 p.m., when John T. McManus, GUARDIAN general manager, will report on his recent trip. The program will be rebroadcast the next day at 10 a.m. Persons in Los Angeles and San Francisco who want to hear the program should ask the local Pacifica stations to pick up the New York tape.

LAST MONTH IN CAIRO, Mohamed Abu Shadi, a Ministry of Education employe, was startled to discover strange "Hebrew" lettering on the bottle of Coca-Cola he was drinking. He called the police who started an investigation of whether the bottle had come from Israel. The mystery was ended by the local Coca-Cola manager, who said that the bottle "is in fact a product of Ethiopia and the characters it bears are Amharic." He added: "The Coca-Cola company has not and will never allow Israel to bottle Coca-Cola." In New York, Coca-Cola vice president John Talley insisted that the company's policy in extending bottling franchises is based on economic rather than political considerations . . . The U.S. Information Service reported that the 1961 calendar it distributed in Jordan caused some excitement. Each page bears the Great Seal of the United States and "the arrangement of stars over the eagle's head is associated by some people with the symbol of Zionism." . . . U.S. Immigration officials beat off another invasion attempt on Dec. 30, when John Boyd of the Canadian **Tribune,** a left-wing newspaper, was barred from stopping over for nine hours in New York on his way to Cuba. Boyd was to cover the Cuban anniversary celebration. The most direct travel route was from Toronto to New York, where he would transfer to a plane for Cuba. But at the Toronto airport, U.S. Immigration Dept. officials told him that he would not be allowed to set foot on U.S. soil. . . . After dissuading two young Marines from jumping off a bridge, a San Diego police sergeant said: "One of the boys told me that he was afraid his outfit was going to Laos." . . . The Albany **Times Union** conducted a telephone survey on whether residents knew where Laos is. One woman replied: "I don't know where he is. But he doesn't live here. Why don't you try across the street."

Stamwitz, Signalman's Journal
"I think that barber knew I scabbed during the last strike!"

FIRST LADY-ELECT JACQUELINE KENNEDY may yet contribute more to bringing the world closer together than her husband. From Czechoslovakia, George Wheeler reports: "One of the most conspicuous features of New Year's Eve in Prague this year was the mushrooming of Jackie Kennedy-Parisian hair-dos." The new coiffures, Wheeler hastens to explain, are not in celebration of Kennedy's election, but are "symptomatic of the manner in which Czechoslovaks are celebrating the spanking success of their Second Five-Year Plan." In the last five years, industrial production increased 65%. . . . In Jacksonville, Fla., a prowler who broke into an art museum and took nothing left this note: "I found the exhibits excellent and stimulating." . . . Sign in a bookstore on W. 46th St. in New York, near the offices of **Variety:** "Buy a book—help stamp out TV." . . . In the same issue in which it reported that the U. of New Hampshire Chapter of the American Assn. of University Professors had honored Dr. Gwynne H. Daggett as a "superior teacher," the Manchester **Union Leader** published a dossier on Daggett from Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman's files. Daggett was accused of such "subversive" activities as sponsoring lectures by Paul Sweezy, membership in the Progressive Party and opposition to the McCarran and Smith acts. But in citing Daggett, the AAUP said that he "never allows his lectures to become stereotyped and teaches a 50-minute class at a high pitch." According to the association, Daggett feels that classes "should open up the mind, excite inquiry, and induce creative mental activity." . . . In a suit brought by a Seattle Negro couple against a jimcrow cemetery, Washington Supreme Court Justice Joseph Mallery said: "This lawsuit is but an incident . . . in the over-all Negro crusade to judicially deprive white people of their right to choose their associates in their private affairs."
—Robert E. Light

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The Soviet Everyman

HAVING WON FIRST PRIZE at the Cannes and San Francisco film festivals, writer and director Grigori Chukhrai's **Ballad of a Soldier,** now playing at the Murray Hill in New York, will be shown soon in theaters throughout the country. A dubbed version is available for mass distribution. Since 30 films are currently being advertised as the Best of the Year, one would be sticking one's neck out to claim prime place for this production. Nevertheless, coming close on **The Cranes Are Flying,** it is further proof that the Soviet cinema is hardly in **rigor mortis,** as we have been given to believe.

The plot is as simple as any ballad's. A young infantryman, running away from Nazi tanks, stumbles on an anti-tank gun and disables two of them. Though he disclaims any credit for what he says he could not help doing, he is given six days leave to visit his home and to repair the roof of his mother's house. On the way he becomes so entangled in other people's war-borne cares and misery that he has only time to greet his mother and return at once to the front where—we have known it all along—he will be killed.

IN THE OLD DAYS Russian writers used to wonder: What is the meaning of life? With the coming of the October Revolution they said: Life is man's most precious possession. That the question is no longer asked tells us what the Revolution meant. But the affirmation can bring one to a full stop, suspecting an impassable platitude, unless one realizes that such a yes to life had to be lived before it could be conceived. It is not a philosopher's phrase, but a crystal vibrating at the frequency of satisfied human desire. It means, too, that life is nothing if it is not intense. Which brings us back to Chukhrai's film, and what it is intense about.

SHANNA PROKHORENKO (LEFT) AND VLADIMIR IVASHOV
A new type of man is emerging in socialist society

Describing his protagonist, Chukhrai wrote in a short article published in the New York Sunday **Times** (Dec. 25, 1960): "All around him is the unhappiness of the war. He tries to help. He cannot remain indifferent. Throughout our film we tried to bring out the touching love of our hero that this young man showed others whom he met in his life." That is the fabric, the warp and woof of Alyosha's spirit. While some, like the couple of **Hiroshima, Mon Amour,** oppose human cruelty with sexual love, or, like the dock workers of Jules Dassin's **Never on Sunday,** honor life with drinking and dancing, his flame and banner is fraternity. He reacts no less spontaneously than they, but it is the happiness of others that delights him, their separation that he cannot bear, whether they are parted through war, jealousy, disloyalty or feelings of unworthiness. War being the extreme of inhumanity, when he is pursued by the tanks, the camera is tilted at an angle close to 180 degrees so that for a moment the whole world is upside down to this young, friendless Everyman.

THERE IS ANOTHER startling bit that is done so delicately that it almost escapes notice. Alyosha has met a girl, Shura, on the freight car carrying him toward home. After many little adventures which draw them together, and just before she leaves him at a way station to stay with her aunt, she tells him that she is orphaned and that she had only pretended to have a sweetheart because she was at first afraid of him. But now he has so little time left that he cannot get off his train to comfort her, as he has done for so many others. He shouts the name of his village to her, but does not know whether she has heard him. The train passes through a birch grove, and through the window he sees the girl's reproachful face speckled with leaves and glittering with sun. Then suddenly we realize that he is seeing himself as well, as he must look to her in her memory and longing. He has changed from a wonderfully good-hearted boy into a man to whom no one need be a stranger. What makes this touch so perfect is that the boy is not shown in some moral posture, but as exerting an intuition beautiful as a birch tree.

Perhaps this projection of magnanimity as second nature is what the Soviet writers mean when they say that a new type of man is emerging in socialist society. Of course, people like Alyosha are not being turned out in assembly-line quantities. Yet this kind of man is what the Soviet people seem to want and what their artists, like Chukhrai, are concerned to help create. One may regret that art will lose subjects like the sons of Taras Bulba, the magnificent Cossacks of Sholokhov. But no administrative order can be blamed for that. Life has replaced them with young men—sprung from the same soil as the Melekhovs of Sholokhov's Don books—who condemn not only war but everything in man and his social order that war expresses.

—**Charles Humboldt**